

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SECTO 04002 01 OF 04 062046Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----062052Z 056634 /61
O 062009Z MAY 77 ZFF 4
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 04 SECTO 04002

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR TARNOFF AND LAKE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S CONSULTATIONS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA
/

UK PARTICIPANTS:
FOREIGN SECRETARY DAVID OWEN
MINISTER OF STATE TED ROWLANDS
PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY MICHAEL PALLISER
DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY JOHN GRAHAM
ASSISTANT UNDER SECRETARY PHILIP MANSFIELD
FCO AFRICA ADVISER DENIS GRENNAN
PRIVATE SECRETARY EWEN FERGUSON
RHODESIA DEPARTMENT HEAD PATRICK LAVER
CENTRAL AFRICA DEPARTMENT HEAD MARTIN REID
PRESS ADVISER HAMILTON WHYTE

US PARTICIPANTS:
THE SECRETARY
PRESS SPOKESMAN HODDING CARTER
POLITICAL COUNSELOR WILLIAM WOESSNER
FIRST SECRETARY RAYMOND SEITZ

DATE: MAY 6, 1977; THE FOREIGN OFFICE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SECTO 04002 01 OF 04 062046Z

1. FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN OPENED THE DISCUSSION OF
RHODESIA WITH A COMMENT THAT HE IS NOT PRESSING FOR A
DECISION ON AN ANNOUNCEMENT OF NEXT STEPS NOR FOR A
DECISION TO CONVENE A CONFERENCE. HE SAID THAT WE SHOULD
NOT TOTALLY COMMIT OURSELVES TO A FORMAL CONFERENCE UNTIL
THERE APPEARS TO BE MORE ASSURANCE OF EVENTUAL SUCCESS.

NEVERTHELESS. THE MOMENTUM OF THE INITIATIVE MUST BE MAINTAINED. OWEN THEN EXPLAINED THE FAILURE TO ARRANGE A MEETING WITH JOSHUA NKOMO FOR THAT MORNING. ATTRIBUTING NKOMO'S DEMAND THAT OWEN COME TO HIS HOTEL AS A MANIFESTATION OF NKOMO'S INSECURITY, BOTH PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL. OWEN SAID THAT WE CAN NOT BE SEEN TO BE MANIPULATED BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

2. OWEN EXPRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT THE US AND UK SHOULD GO AHEAD JOINTLY WITH BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS AND IN THE PROCESS DOWNGRADE THE ISSUE OF AMERICAN PARTICIPATION AT A CONFERENCE. HE POINTED OUT THAT DISCUSSIONS CANNOT BE CONFINED TO CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS BUT WOULD ALSO NEED TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSITION AND OF POST-INDEPENDENCE STABILITY. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE US RELUCTANCE TO NEGOTIATE THE DETAILS OF A CONSTITUTION WHICH WAS ESSENTIALLY A BRITISH LEGAL PARLIAMENTARY EXERCISE. AT THE SAME TIME, OWEN SAID, THE UK WILL NEED AMERICAN HELP ON THE BASIC STRUCTURE OF A CONSTITUTION, SUCH AS THE FRANCHISE AND POSSIBLE CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS FOR THE WHITE COMMUNITY. OWEN SAID THAT WHILE WE MUST BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO DIFFERING PUBLIC AND PRIVATE POSITIONS BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, THE US AND UK MUST REMAIN IN HARMONY. HE MENTIONED THE NECESSITY THAT WE "KEEP IN LINE" IN MAPUTO AND THAT THE 5 WESTERN POWERS SHOULD ACT

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 SECTO 04002 02 OF 04 062047Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----062052Z 056497 /62
O 062009Z MAY 77 ZFF-4
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 04 SECTO 04002

NODIS CHEROKEE

IN CONCERT AT LEAST ON THE QUESTION OF NAMIBIA.

3. THE SECRETARY COMPLIMENTED OWEN FOR HIS OUTSTANDING TRIP THROUGH SOUTHERN AFRICA. HE SAID THAT THE US WAS

PREPARED TO ENTER INTO A PHASE OF INTENSIVE BILATERAL JOINT CONSULTATIONS. WE WILL UNDERTAKE THESE DISCUSSIONS EITHER TOGETHER OR INDIVIDUALLY DEPENDING ON THE WISHES OF EACH PARTY. THE SECRETARY WELCOMED OWEN'S REMARK THAT IT WAS NOT NECESSARY FOR THE UNITED STATES TO INVOLVE ITSELF IN THE DETAILS OF A CONSTITUTION BUT EXPRESSED OUR WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT THE BRITISH ON MATTERS OF CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLE. HE INFORMED THE FOREIGN SECRETARY THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO ASSIGN A SENIOR DIPLOMAT TO THE PROPOSED CONSULTATIVE GROUP. HE FURTHER SUGGESTED THAT THE US AND UK PROMPTLY INFORM THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND THE NATIONALISTS OF OUR DECISION. WE WOULD THEN FOLLOW WITH A SIMULTANEOUS PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT NOT LATER THAN WEDNESDAY, MAY 11.

4. OWEN ASKED WHETHER WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO JOIN THE GROUP ON ITS VISITS TO SALISBURY. THE SECRETARY REPLIED AFFIRMATIVELY SO LONG AS THE HEADQUARTERS REMAINED OUTSIDE RHODESIA.

5. THE SECRETARY SAID HE WOULD INFORM JOHNSA NKOMO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SECTO 04002 02 OF 04 062047Z

OF OUR DECISION DURING HIS MEETING WITH THE ZAPU LEADER LATER IN THE AFTERNOON. HE SAID OUR EMBASSIES WILL BE ASKED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, PERHAPS TONIGHT, TO ALSO INFORM THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND THE NATIONALISTS. OWEN AGREED THAT WE SHOULD MOVE QUICKLY TO GIVE ADVANCE NOTICE TO THE INTERESTED PARTIES HE SAID HE WOULD PLAN TO ANNOUNCE OUR DECISION IN PARLIAMENT ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, AND THAT JOHN GRAHAM, HEADING THE GROUP, IS PREPARED TO DEPART FOR AFRICA ON MAY 16. THE SECRETARY AGREED AND SUGGESTED THAT IN THE INTERIM WE EXCHANGE VIEWS ON SPECIFIC NEGOTIATING TACTICS.

6. TED ROWLANDS URGED THAT THE SECRETARY ATTEMPT TO CONVINCE NKOMO THAT THE CURRENT INITIATIVE WAS "IN DEADLY EARNEST". HE SAID THAT NKOMO WILL LIKELY COMPLAIN TO THE SECRETARY THAT CONSTITUTIONAL CONSULTATIONS ARE JUST ANOTHER PAPER EXERCISE. OWEN ECHOED ROWLANDS' SUGGESTION. HE SAID THAT THE NATIONALIST LEADERS HAD NOT YET ABSORBED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CHANGE IN ADMINISTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES. "THEY STILL TALK ABOUT THE CIA AND ALLENDE", HE WENT ON. "I KEEP TELLING THEM THAT YOU'RE MORE RADICAL THAN WE ARE." OWEN EMPHASIZED THAT THE US AND THE UK MUST STICK TOGETHER THROUGHOUT WHAT IS BOUND TO BE A CONTROVERSIAL PROCESS. HE SAID THE JOINT APPROACH HAD HAD A STRONG IMPACT INSIDE RHODESIA, FOR IT UNDERSCORED THE SERIOUS NATURE OF

THE VENTURE. HE INDICATED THAT THE POLITICAL MOOD
AMONG THE WHITES IS ALREADY CHANGING, AND HE REFERRED
TO A LETTER HE RECEIVED RECENTLY FROM THE PRESIDENT OF
THE RHODESIA FARMERS' UNION WHICH REVEALED A REAL DESIRE
TO IMPROVE RACIAL RELATIONS. OWEN SAID IT IS DIFFICULT
TO ASSESS IAN SMITH BUT THAT HE IS INCLINED TO BELIEVE
THAT SMITH HAS UNDERGONE A MEASURE OF CHANGE. "SMITH
IS STILL CAPABLE OF FALLING BACK; HE ALWAYS HAS HIS
LIFE LINES OUT. BUT I THINK HE CAN BE BROUGHT ALONG
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SECTO 04002 02 OF 04 062047Z

IN THE MOMENTUM AND THAT HE UNDERSTANDS THE SOUTH
AFRICANS WON'T ACCEPT ANY DEVIOUSNESS."

7. THE SECRETARY EXPLAINED THE PURPOSE OF THE VICE
PRESIDENT'S FORTHCOMING MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER
VORSTER. HE SAID THAT THE VICE PRESIDENT WILL INFORM
VORSTER THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL BE LOOKING CLOSELY
AT SOUTH AFRICAN EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF
RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. BUT HE WILL ALSO LET VORSTER KNOW
THAT UNLESS THERE IS REAL CHANGE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICAN
SOCIETY, RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES CANNOT
HELP BUT BE AFFECTED. OWEN SAID THAT HE WAS DEEPLY
PESSIMISTIC ABOUT INTERNAL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND
THE SECRETARY ADDED PIK BOTHA'S COMMENT THAT THE
SOUTH AFRICANS "WON'T COMMIT SUICIDE". OWEN DESCRIBED
VORSTER AS "OLD-WORLDDY. HE DOESN'T THINK THE AFRICANS
ARE INFERIOR, JUST DIFFERENT. HE WANTS TO TALK ABOUT THE
DOMESTIC SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA BUT HE BUILDS HIS
CONVERSATION ON A FALSE PREMISE AND ONE CANNOT ADDRESS
THE PREMISE. IT WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT." OWEN ADDED

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 SECTO 04002 03 OF 04 062055Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----062058Z 056671 /61
O 062009Z MAY 77 ZFF 4

FM USDEL SECRETARY IN LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 03 OF 04 SECTO 04002

NODIS CHEROKEE

THAT HE AGREED WITH THE MONDALE MISSION AND SAID THAT SUCH EFFORTS WILL NECESSARILY HAVE A CUMULATIVE EFFECT ON SOUTH AFRICANS. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT BLACK GOVERNMENTS UNDERSTAND THAT EVOLUTION WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA WILL TAKE TIME. THE PACE OF CHANGE THERE WILL BE VERY DIFFERENT FROM WHAT CAN BE EXPECTED IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA.

8. IN RESPONSE TO THE SECRETARY'S INQUIRY ABOUT ANGOLAN PRESIDENT NETO, OWEN SAID THAT HE HAD LEFT LUANDA WITH A BETTER IMPRESSION THAN HE HAD EXPECTED. NETO HAD NOT DENIED HIS ASSOCIATION AND LIMITED SUPPORT FOR THE KATANGANS, BUT HE HAD STRONGLY REJECTED ANY SUGGESTION THAT HE MASTERMINDED THE INCURSIONS INTO SHABA. HE SAID THAT NETO SEEMED OBSESSED BY HIS INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES AND THAT CONFUSION SEEMED TO REIGN IN THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT. "MOZAMBIQUE IS CIVILIZED AND ORGANIZED IN COMPARISON TO ANGOLA." GRENNAN EXPRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT THE MPLA LEADERSHIP WISHES TO BE PRAGMATIC AND NON-CONFRONTATIONAL BUT THEY FIND THEMSELVES IN THE SOVIET POCKET AND DEPENDENT ON THE CUBANS.

9. THE SECRETARY DESCRIBED OUR INTEREST IN DISCUSSING NORMALIZATION WITH THE ANGOLANS ONCE THEY HAD DEMONSTRATED A CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE IN THE NIGERIAN MEDIATION
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SECTO 04002 03 OF 04 062055Z

EFFORT. (OWEN HERE ASKED WHETHER THE UNITED STATES WOULD OBJECT TO THE SALE OF SOME SENSITIVE TELECOMMUNICATION EQUIPMENT BY THE UK TO THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT. THE SECRETARY REPLIED THAT WE HAD NO OBJECTIONS.) SIR MICHAEL PALLISER SAID THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA WAS REMINISCENT OF GUINEA WHEN THE FRENCH DEPARTED' LEAVING THE GUINEANS NO OPTION BUT TO TURN TO THE EAST. THE ANGOLANS, HE SAID, HAVE NO ALTERNATIVES. THE SECRETARY AGREED.

10. THE TWO SECRETARIES THEN DISCUSSED ZAIRE. THEY AGREED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO TAKE A FIRM STAND ON THE ISSUE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, BUT THAT SO FAR AS POSSIBLE THIS AFRICAN PROBLEM SHOULD BE SOLVED BY THE AFRICANS.

11. THE SECRETARY DESCRIBED FOR OWEN THE ADMINISTRATION' PLANNED APPROACH TO CONGRESS ON THE ISSUE OF THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND AND THE AIM TO WIN CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL IN PRINCIPLE. OWEN EMPHASIZED THAT THE FUND IS A MAJOR PSYCHOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL ELEMENT FOR BRINGING ALONG THE RHODESIAN WHITE COMMUNITY. HE SAID HE HAD UNDERScoreD TO THE WHITES THAT THE FUND WAS NOT DESIGNED AS A "BUY OFF", A STATEMENT WHICH HAD DISTURBED THE RHODESIANS. HE SAID HE HAD RECEIVED THE IMPRESSION THAT FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD COMMITTED HIMSELF TO A GREAT EXTENT ON THE CONCEPT OF A SAFETY NET. OWEN POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT THE FUND "LEGITIMIZES" THE US INVOLVEMENT IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS BUT SAID HE RECOGNIZED OUR OWN POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES.

12. THE SECRETARY ASKED ABOUT BRITISH STRATEGY DURING THE CONSULTATIONS, WHETHER THEY WOULD APPROACH THE HARD OR EASY ISSUES FIRST. GRAHAM SAID THEY WOULD CLARIFY THEIR APPROACH OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS, BUT THEY WOULD
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SECTO 04002 03 OF 04 062055Z

PLAN TO SET ASIDE THE QUESTION OF A CONFERENCE AND, INSTEAD, ASK THE PARTIES ABOUT THEIR THOUGHTS ON A CONSTITUTION AND THE PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSITION. THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP WOULD DEVELOP THE PROCESS AND EXTRACT BASIC PRINCIPLES LEADING EVENTUALLY TO AN OUTLINE DRAFT CONSTITUTION. AT THE SAME TIME THE UK AND US WOULD RESERVE A FINAL DECISION ON "THIS IS HOW IT WILL BE." OWEN SAID THERE WOULD BE A CONSTITUTIONAL LAWYER ON THE BRITISH TEAM, AND IF ALL WENT WELL, THE GROUP COULD ESTABLISH A TECHNICAL, CONSTITUTIONAL UNIT. THERE WOULD BE NO NEED FOR THE UNITED STATES TO PARTICIPATE AT THIS LEVEL. AS AN ASIDE, OWEN ALSO MENTIONED THAT THE FCO WAS LOOKING AT THE IDEA THAT INDEPENDENCE SHOULD BE GRANTED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE ELECTORAL PERIOD, BUT THIS WOULD REQUIRE CLOSE CONSIDERATION.

13. BOTH SECRETARIES AGREED ON THE DANGER OF BECOMING INVOLVED IN THE POLITICS OF NATIONALIST LEADERSHIP. THERE FOLLOWED A BRIEF DISCUSSION ON THE FORTHCOMING MAPUTO CONFERENCE. OWEN SAID THAT THE WESTERN POWERS SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE. WE SHOULD STAND ASIDE, LISTEN AND ADVISE, BUT NOT BE DRAWN IN TO A DECLARATION. THE SECRETARY

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 SECTO 04002 04 OF 04 062056Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----062106Z 056883 /62
O 062009Z MAY 77 ZFF 4
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 04 OF 04 SECTO 04002

NODIS CHEROKEE

SAID HE AGREED IN GENERAL. OWEN SAID HE APPROVED OF
AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S DECISION TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE,
COMMENTING THAT THE AMBASSADOR'S COMMITMENT TO THE
ISSUES HAD A VERY FAVORABLE IMPACT IN AFRICA.

14. ON NAMIBIA THE TWO SECRETARIES AGREED THAT THE
RESULTS OF THE FIVE-POWER DEMARCHE AND DISCUSSIONS
WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS WERE ENCOURAGING. GRENNAN SAID
THAT IT MAY BE DIFFICULT TO GET NUJOMA INTO THE
NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE HE IS UNSURE OF HIS OWN POSITION
WITHIN SWAPO AND WITHIN NAMIBIA. HE SUGGESTED FRONT
LINE PRESSURE ON NUJOMA MAY BE ESSENTIAL. TED ROWLANDS
SAID THAT WE RUN THE DANGER OF AN EMBARRASSMENT BY OUR
OWN SUCCESS. IF SWAPO WILL NOT COME ALONG THEN VORSTER
WOULD SEEM FREE TO GO AHEAD ON HIS OWN. WE HAVE SOUGHT
TO AVOID A MEDIATING ROLE BUT WE ARE ALREADY IN IT, HE
CONCLUDED. SECRETARY VANCE AGREED THAT THE "ADMINIS-
TRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS" IN NAMIBIA COULD BE A DANGEROUS
IMITATION OF THE TURNHALLE CONSTITUTION.

15. IN DISCUSSING THE HORN THE SECRETARY DESCRIBED HIS
RECENT MEETING WITH THE SOMALI AMBASSADOR. HE IN-
FORMED THE BRITISH THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO OFFER IMMED-
IATE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO THE SOMALIS BUT THAT MILI-
TARY TRANSFERS MUST AWAIT FURTHER REVIEW IN

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SECTO 04002 04 OF 04 062056Z

WASHINGTON. THE SECRETARY SAID HE HAD CONCLUDED THAT
THE SOMALIS WISH TO DEVELOP NEW OPTIONS WITHOUT FORE-

CLOSING THEIR PRESENT RELATIONSHIPS. THE SECRETARY HAD INFORMED THE SOMALI AMBASSADOR THAT HE MIGHT LOOK TO OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE. DR. OWEN SAID THAT BRITISH ARMS SALES TO SOMALIA WOULD AUTOMATICALLY RAISE PROBLEMS WITH KENYA. HE SAID TED ROWLANDS WOULD VISIT BOTH KENYA AND SOMALIA FOLLOWING THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE. HE ALSO STRESSED THE PROBLEM OF ERITREA WHICH HAD BEEN RAISED BY HIS HOSTS ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS DURING HIS RECENT TRIP IN THE MIDDLE EAST. OWEN NOTED THAT WE CANNOT SUPPORT THE IDEA OF SUCCESSION IN AFRICA BUT THAT ERITREA, BECAUSE OF ITS ARAB CONNECTION, MAY DEVELOP IN AN UNIQUE FASHION. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT WE ARE REAFFIRMING OUR COMMITMENTS TO THE SUDAN AND KENYA. BECAUSE OF SOVIET PRESSURE, THE ETHIOPIANS WILL PROBABLY DEMAND FURTHER CUTBACKS IN OUR PRESENCE.

VANCE

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SECTO, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INDEPENDENCE, MEETING REPORTS, SELFDETERMINATION, NEGOTIATIONS, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION, CAT-B, CHEROKEE 05/06/77
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 06-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977SECTO04002
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P840081-2099, N770003-0236
Format: TEL
From: SECRETARY LONDON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770585/aaaacuzp.tel
Line Count: 404
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 69b50799-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2614706
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SECRETARY'S CONSULTATIONS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA
TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, PINT, US, UK, SF, RH, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (OWEN, DAVID)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/69b50799-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009